7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

the Masai must, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with distrust by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area of 47 square miles (known locally as Olenguruone) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside in 1942 for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1890, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area thus left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 15,177 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with an estimated population of 32,168, and a density of 1.7 per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 635 to 674 of the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance 28 of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1946, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation to the Government to reserve these lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "so long

[1] Report on Native Affairs 1939–45, page 54. But see also the Agrarian Problem in Kenya, 1947, page 24 for more recent developments. Most of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their lands in the Settlement.

[2] Chapter III. page 282.

[3] Cmd 4556 (1934) page 185. For fuller details see Chapter III of Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 44 dated 17 April, 1946. The Agreement of 1911 is printed at page 577 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

seen amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriaini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Aikipiak and Dala-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiro and Chakamoyo clans say they are descended from the Shuka, the Akkachiko and Achera from the Kamba, the Aesaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maeru, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Sauka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagishu and Ngembe, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maeru country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagishu, but I have met a native of Ngembe whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maeru and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngembe are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Kaeuri, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngembe of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Borana, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokulala, Sigirai, and Endarsamurooi clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Punda Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Aikipiak Masai occupied the Laikipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputiei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriaini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Laroosa, a Kikuyu clan, and the Atwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Supi (or, to give him his correct name, Supeet), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Iriaini is said to be derived from N-Daroero ainei, my Taroero women. Taroero is the name of the most important clan in the particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Segeju, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Fyiha, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Barabio is the Kikuyu, Sigirialish the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Aruscha, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Segeju call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Watwa; sing., Mwaya.

*136 eastern, since Roosevelt and Heller collected some of the specimens here from which they described the difference between the two races.

At that time the link between the wildebeests in the Rift and those in the present Serengeti-Mara region may have been the Mosiro Plateau. In that area there is not the sheer wall that characterizes much of the western edge of the Rift, instead there are a series of steps and slopes which by themselves would not prove a *13 barrier to wildebeest movement. Old Masai living on [167] the Mosiro Plateau told us that they remembered seeing wildebeests on the Plateau when they first moved there (about 45 years earlier), and at that time the plateau country was open with tall grass, no gullies and no brush. Today the Mosiro area is one of the most severely overgrazed parts of East Africa, and is largely bare of grass, deeply eroded, and covered with thorn scrub (Talbot, 1960c). We regard it in its present condition as an effective barrier to movement of wildebeests.

*136 Roosevelt and Heller (op.cit.) also mapped wildebeests of the western race south in the west side of the Rift to Lake Natron. Today, however, the wildebeests at Lake Natron are the lighter colored, larger, eastern form. If Roosevelt and Heller were correct that

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

133 Mau is the source of all the rivers watering the western half
[137] of Masailand, Kipsigis and part of the Rift Valley. The birth-
place of innumerable streams, it is, in theory, protected by its
status as a forest reserve.

185 Looking out from the small yellow aircraft expertly handled
311 by June Wright, one of the best commercial pilots in East
Africa, one could quickly see how different theory was from
practice, here as elsewhere. In a forest reserve no one is
allowed to fell trees, cultivate, start fires or graze livestock.
In less than half an hour, I counted seventeen active fires and
saw the shambles created by innumerable others. Whole
ridgebacks of the mountain, sticking up like black spines, were
as bare as slag-heaps and already tunnelled and creased by
gully erosion. Older fires were still smoking in some of these
devastated areas; one could see the forest being eaten into
like a great fur pelt attacked by moths.

As sure as fate, one day there will be no more water for
cattle in the streams below. 'God is punishing us,' will say the
Masai: but it will not be God, it will be themselves. The
[233] streams are already shrinking and the Masai are driving their
herds farther into the hills to find grazing. They cannot take
cattle into forest and so they burn a way in. They are creeping
upwards, spreading destruction as they go in order to escape
the consequences of destruction they have already caused.

[222] Other fires are started by honey-hunters who burn down
trees to smoke out the bees. Often, in the forest, you can see
blackened hollow cedars and olives killed by fires tucked into
the roots. If the foliage is dry and the wind right, the fire
will spread and get out of hand.

563 And then there are 'acceptees': a clumsy term given to men
of other tribes who are settling in Masailand, family by
family, with the permission of Masai elders. They are tenants:
but it is very unlikely that they will ever go.

•[167] In South Nyanza and in Kipsigis it is reckoned that upwards
of two thousand families a year are crossing the southern
border into Masailand and Tanganyika. In recent years a
[582] good many Masai have married Kikuyu or Kamba wives
[842] because so many of their own women are sterile; at one time
there was quite a trade in Kikuyu girl-children, exchanged for
Cattle.